

Message Text

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13

ORIGIN NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SS-15 EUR-25 EA-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 USIA-12 OMB-01 EB-11 /125 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/ TUR: RSDILLON: CF

5/18/73 EXT 20714

APPROVED BY P - AMB PORTER

NEA - MR DAVIES

S/ S - MR. BARNES

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 097572

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU

SUBJ: KISSINGER SPEECH: PORTER- ESENBEL CONVERSATION MAY 18

REF: STATE 93827

SUMMARY: TURK AMBASSADOR ESENBEL, UNDER INSTRUCTIONS, CALLED ON UNDER SECRETARY PORTER MAY 18 TO DISCUSS KISSINGER SPEECH OF APRIL 23. NEA/ TUR DIRECTOR DILLON ALSO PRESENT. PORTER EMPHASIZED USG HAS NO FIXED IDEAS, WAS WAITING FOR COMMENTS OF OTHERS, AND WAS PLEASED GOT SHOWING INTEREST. CHIEF PURPOSE WAS TO GET DISCUSSION STARTED AND US WOULD BE PUTTING FORTH SPECIFIC IDEAS IN TIME. ESENBEL EMPHASIZED TURK FEELING INITIAL DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE CONFINED TO NATO, WITH OTHERS BROUGHT IN LATER. SPECIFIC TURK CONCERNS WERE THAT EMPHASIS ON WESTERN EUROPE COULD DAMAGE NATO CONCEPT, AND THAT CHANGE IN NUCLEAR STRATEGY COULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO TURKISH SECURITY BECAUSE TURKEY HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON US NUCLEAR SUPPORT. PORTER
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REASSURED ESENBEL USG CONSCIOUS OF TURK CONCERNS AND DID NOT WISH TO UNDERMINE TURK SECURITY. END SUMMARY.

1. ESENBEL INITIATED CONVERSATION BY SAYING HE UNDER

INSTRUCTIONS TO COME IN AT HIGHEST AVAILABLE LEVEL TO REQUEST USG VIEWS OF KISSINGER'S APRIL 23 SPEECH. PORTER RESPONDED THAT USG HAD NO FIXED IDEAS. IT WAS WAITING

FOR COMMENTS OF OTHERS. HE WAS PLEASED GOT SHOWING INTEREST. TIME HAD PASSED SINCE NATO FORMED; NEW GENERATION COMING UP WHICH HAD NOT SHARED THOSE EXPERIENCES WHICH LED TO FORMATION OF ALLIANCE. WE WISHED TO LOOK AT NEW OBJECTIVES, TO RESTATE PRINCIPLES, BUT NOT NECESSARILY RESTATE EVERYTHING. FURTHERMORE, OUR INITIATIVE NOT LIMITED TO NATO, BUT NATURALLY WHEN WE THINK ABOUT EUROPE OUR FIRST THOUGHT IS NATO. THERE IS NO BLUEPRINT. ESSENCE IS TO TALK TO ONE ANOTHER. EUROPEANS ARE SHOWING INTEREST. WE WANT DISCUSSION TO START. WE WOULD LIKE TO DEVELOP NEW STATEMENT BY TIME PRESIDENT GOES TO EUROPE IN FALL. WE HAVE NO SPECIFIC GATHERING OR CEREMONY IN MIND, BUT THAT IS POSSIBILITY. EUROPEANS NOW CONSIDERING WHETHER TO REACT AS GROUP OR INDIVIDUALLY. U. S. FLEXIBLE ON APPROACH.

2. ESENBEL REPLIED THAT OTHER NATIONS NEED MORE SPECIFICS. KISSINGER SPEECH HAD BEEN VERY GENERAL. PORTER RESPONDED BY ASKING HOW WOULD TURKS PROCEED? WITH WHAT IDEAS? WITH WHOM? WHAT DID TURKS SEE AS OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES?

3. ESENBEL PARRIED THAT TURK POSITION WAS " OFFHAND." TURKS AND OTHERS DID NOT KNOW U. S. IDEAS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE HAD TALKED TO HIS FRIEND THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR WHO SAID HE WAS WAITING TO SEE WHAT DEVELOPED.

4. PORTER SAID SPEECH HAD BEEN DELIBERATELY GENERAL. WE UNDERSTOOD SENSITIVITIES IN EUROPE AND DID NOT WANT TO BE MORE SPECIFIC. IT WAS ALL RIGHT FOR TURKS TO WAIT, OR IT WAS ALL RIGHT FOR THEM TO PUT FORWARD IDEAS OF COMMON INTEREST. U. S. WOULD PUT FORWARD ITS IDEAS. SOME PEOPLE HAD MISUNDERSTOOD REFERENCE IN SPEECH OF CONFIDENTIAL

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REGIONAL VS. GLOBAL ROLE. THERE NO INTENTION TO CONFINE EUROPE TO REGIONAL ROLE. OUR REFERENCE TO JAPAN SHOWED THAT. KEYNOTE WAS THAT USG FLEXIBLE.

5. ESENBEL SAID HE BOTHERED BY REPETITION SUCH PHRASES AS " WESTERN EUROPE," " EUROPEAN UNITY," " NATO UNITY," " YEAR OF EUROPE," " FLEXIBLE RESPONSE IN EUROPE." THESE PHRASES NEEDED ELUCIDATION. DID THIS MEAN " OCCIDENTAL" EUROPE?

6. PORTER REPLIED THAT WE CERTAINLY MEANT ALL OF NATO, BUT ALSO MORE THAN NATO. FOR EXAMPLE, WE ALSO HAD SPAIN IN MIND BECAUSE OF ITS ROLE IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE. WE

WOULD START WITH EUROPE BUT THERE WERE OTHERS. WHAT ABOUT AUSTRALIA? NEW ZEALAND? KOREA? THEY, TOO, WOULD RAISE QUESTIONS, BUT FIRST WE WOULD START WITH OUR CLOSE ASSOCIATES IN EUROPE.

7. ESENBEL SAID TURKEY WAS FOR ANYTHING WHICH PROMOTED REVITALIZATION OF NATO. HE POINTED OUT THAT AT TIME OF THREE WISE MEN DISCUSSIONS IN MID-1950'S TURKS HAD FAVORED BROADER (INCLUDING ECONOMIC) CONSULTATIONS WITHIN NATO. TURK POSITION NOW WAS THAT EVERYTHING MUST BE DISCUSSED FIRST WITHIN NATO. MAYBE DOCUMENT WOULD BE PRODUCED WHICH COULD THEN BE SHOWN TO JAPANESE OR SWEDES. AS SPEECH HAD MADE CLEAR THERE WERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, MILITARY PROBLEMS, AND POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS. ALL HAD A BEARING ON EACH OTHER. IF ULTIMATE GOAL WERE TO STRENGTHEN NATO, DISCUSSION OF ALL PROBLEMS SHOULD START IN NATO, NOT IN EC ALTHOUGH EC MEMBERS WERE ALSO MEMBERS OF NATO.

8. PORTER REPLIED TURKISH IDEAS WERE INTERESTING. TURKS WISHED TO BEGIN IN NATO. OTHERS IN EUROPE WERE DEVELOPING DIFFERING IDEAS, E. G. DISCUSSION OF DEFENSE IN NATO, DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN EC. YET OTHER COUNTRIES HAD STRONG VIEWS LIKE THOSE OF TURKS.

9. ESENBEL SAID HE WANTED TO BE PRECISE ABOUT TURK APPREHENSIONS. TURKS HAD WANTED TO ENTER NATO FOR COMMON DEFENSE. BUT MAJOR OBJECTIVE HAD BEEN CLOSE ASSOCIATION
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WITH U. S. NOW IF U. S. STARTED DEALING SEPARATELY WITH EC ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, MAYBE IT WOULD DEAL SEPARATELY WITH EC ON MILITARY OR POLITICAL PROBLEMS. WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO NATO? NATO COULD BE DAMAGED.

10. PORTER WELCOMED TURK OBSERVATIONS AND INVITED ESENBEL GIVE US A PAPER. ESENBEL CONTINUED THAT FIRST TURKISH CONCERN WAS ALWAYS FOR TURK SECURITY. IF THERE WERE TO BE NEW STRATEGY, IF WESTERN EUROPE WERE TO PLAY MORE SUBSTANTIAL ROLE IN NATO, WHAT ABOUT TURK PROBLEMS? HE WAS INSTRUCTED BY HIS GOVERNMENT SPECIFICALLY TO STATE TURK CONCERN THAT AFTER EFFECT OF FOCUS ON WESTERN EUROPE COULD BE DAMAGE TO NATO CONCEPT. SECONDLY, HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO EXPRESS TURK CONCERN WITH POSSIBLE CHANGE IN NUCLEAR STRATEGY. TURKEY WOULD ALWAYS REQUIRE NUCLEAR SUPPORT. THEREFORE TURKS CONCERNED ABOUT TALK OF STRENGTHENING CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN WESTERN EUROPE IF THAT MEANT ANY WEAKENING OF NUCLEAR STRATEGY.

11. PORTER REPLIED THAT USG UNDERSTOOD TURK CONCERNS. ANY SUCH SUBJECT WOULD BE APPROACHED WITH GREAT CARE. WE WERE LONG WAY FROM POINT OF DISCUSSING SUCH PROBLEMS.

THE TURKS NEED NOT WORRY ABOUT OUR TAKING ACTIONS THAT
WOULD WEAKEN THEIR POSITION. WE DID NOT WANT TO UNDERMINE
OUR FRIENDS.

12. ESENBEL ASKED WHETHER THERE MIGHT BE A SIGNING OF
A DECLARATION BY HEADS OF STATE IN BRUSSELS? PORTER TOLD
HIM WE DID NOT KNOW. IT WAS POSSIBILITY. BRUSSELS WOULD
BE NATURAL SPOT FOR NATO PARTNERS.

13. ESENBEL ASKED IF PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD VISIT NATO
DURING HIS EUROPEAN TRIP. PORTER REPLIED THAT THERE WAS
NO ITINERARY AS YET. ESENBEL REMINDED THAT THERE WAS
OUTSTANDING INVITATION FOR PRESIDENT NIXON TO VISIT TURKEY.
EUROPEAN TRIP WOULD BE GOOD OPPORTUNITY. RUSH

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